1: Steinen- 1 D.E-5 (1884) 1886 SP? Bacairi 577

Seventh Chapter

March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

14 June. 6.40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, mist. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

Today the men are ready very quickly: off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "queimadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis), in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p. 170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs. A few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

/99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nuxwahi/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent. hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

1 [i.e. village -- Ananda]

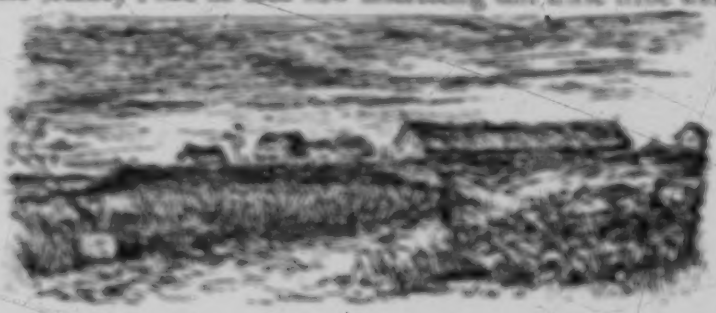
/100 cont./

101 MS [119] to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricya."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of [131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Pareesi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

● 342 361



Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its pow-

115 123 [191] It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

[122]

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old, all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when 179 648 1997 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of F. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 : /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. He remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a 822 Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two leguas away, the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration apparently here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a guest widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts, the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others, a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent: a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and mock-eating, went hunting, planted manioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 197 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters. They were striking because 198 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illumination appears here/ figure in the grass, with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. The entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 . Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakairí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo: see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buriti /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buriti leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of arará wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams, timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. The roof was also covered with campo gram.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[357] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[383] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beiju.

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
233 twisted into thread with the spindle. The coton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[392] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent, the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to ex-
clamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into thee rooms. Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pinecf lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca, hard little spikes from
[224] the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into th middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charmed. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

[242] /158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "they have beijú," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[41] 829 913 There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree -- the tube of uhú, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[130] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

34 342 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open, in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
[295] [294] Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kpaiano," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 353 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

109 361 These Bakairi had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.

133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala. after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

080 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut. outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with 291 dishevelled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, 301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of calla and black seeds; in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of 302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen. It was cut in Russian style around a bowl. the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairi.

[142] 609 [142] 302 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting. he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, partying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

1: Steinen--39 ZE-5 (1884) 1886 UPT Bacabi JP3

261
342

Bacabi village.

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
301 the diameter of a thick pencil," as well as a necklace of jaguar
claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear
lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a
means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big
nose. he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear. these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small bush.
The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row
of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of
which towered a long arara feather.

542 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
554 here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order. she had curly hair.
302 One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all
over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically
345 long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on
cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied
crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of
cardboard, red, set with black squares. two large gourd /illustration
appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it,
the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with
red and white arara. on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung
down like a woman's hair. a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise
an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black
and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes,
according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little
swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds,
perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck
black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and
black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. ♀ 12° 52'.0, ☽ 12°.4, km. 31.03, total 193.45.
132 6.35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 28.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand bottoms is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. ♀12° 52'.1 ☽12°.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

341 The third aldee, located on the left bank, is not quite two
(342) kilometers from the factory. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less comical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

344 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the darkest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows
(348) and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

142 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kumenã /Cumenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential difference; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, The more uncertain I am in distinguishing the [illegible]

Flute duet among the Seloi.

/173 cont./

We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these, they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful preference is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the mana /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

2: Steinen--1 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/

Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." In looking for wood for the canoe, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [489] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [596] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ãma = "you," "that is you," or "ãma kχarãiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kχarãiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mãh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/56 cont./

114 Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are
159 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips, shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small, it consisted of two large
342 round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
592 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
122 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tasára,"
417 an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
251 mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
241 long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
36 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/39 cont./

231 safers of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he locked down, his head bent inquis-
224 tively and his beak open. /40/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then flutered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
• [342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[974] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters, two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiri pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were planted with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [538] of tobacco were hanging. From a cross beam dangled large [251] birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white manihoca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-wears, fishing nets; on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made [372] of rods with the grill. /61/ a couple of the sticks with which fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, bowed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Kaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

2: Oeuvres--236,D-5 (1664, 1667-1668) 1934 SPT Decaris 877

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Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 262 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a watery broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of [252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beiju as on a small plate, and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beiju in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Sakalíf if in their childhood they had been obliged to [252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground. occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakuhukuhu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Sakalíf. There was no 272 lack of manihoca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, pilorego, however, lasted for only two days, greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never- 262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood. we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked 533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly 122

/80 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted shiburá, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza. We guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakairí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by, like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their form ohóhuzó hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses, a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "Ílo," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set taste, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house. Aramóke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

● 342 Aramóke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 36 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakairi village the population had increased by one young soul. Farihaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the customs. The master was a [illegible] we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize [illegible]. My scheme planning on village plaza had [illegible] successfully and was [illegible] all around by a palisade.

Fig. 6.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

[illegible] A few [illegible], already far advanced, of a [illegible] kind. Curiosity, one of my familiar apparitions. The Bakairi had [illegible] as a dwelling and, instead of their beehive, had erected a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Barlaeus, "will also be the last."

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

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701 (21 cont.) /
648 disturb the Brazilian component in these regions. According to Hermann Meyer (28) they had already wrought serious destruction

28. Hermann Meyer. "Bericht über meine zweite Xingú-Expedition." loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Tromtador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Peranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Isáque Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Dona Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the function of the house for festivals of the Bakairí of the upper Xingú River region. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased. 622 342 594 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it, from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. 302 533 535 Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table 352 and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was 123 entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old 622 115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

[21 cont.]

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dona Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kuliseu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

• 347 José Corsado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks [22] among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, bands painted in
black and white. These frieze made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River region appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 ulurí, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[87] countrymen, the Suyá, whom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kuliseu
48 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kuliseu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kuliseu aldea
caused by José Corsado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kuliseu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/23 cont./

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in contrast with Hermann Meyer's observations, made two years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Hermann Meyer, "Berichte über meine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier, should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate Hermann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two

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aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of six foln, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression

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inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /harpía/, was kept on

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigos and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
286 ancestral form. Food preparation was also unlike same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with rats' paws, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. In the acculturation from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri xikéu to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga xikéu and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bast) was the sole national garment of the women and young girls and a four-thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

291 291 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Kuikuru Indians, 114 the first Bakairí xikéu, called Maigeri, consisted of only two 361 large houses of kunfolk and one small house for visitors with an 342 oval base, while the second and third xikéu each consisted of 345 three large houses of kunfolk and of one house or guests. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí xikéu at the time of my stay 161 among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was 114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there 361 161

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí xikéu on the Rio Kuluehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

Plate III

Fig. 2. Captain Amoura with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

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Fig. 4 [illegible]

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakuri, Luju, in Simões Lopes.

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Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakauf, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Sumdes Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Paiguás with his ... ou Ka'iuna, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iuna.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

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Fig. 21. House of Rio Piratininga Kaigang[sic]

Fig. 22. Kaigang João Pedro with his family in front of his house situated on the Rio Piratininga

[illegible] E-4, 5 (1947) 1950 SPT Bacairi SPT

/2nd cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu.
"Os Bacairys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro. 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen.
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig. 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin. 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241 were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams (cará), cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

• 342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
407 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
406 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
koniéte, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[82 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[43 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

[P 90-A]

	Men	Men	Women	Children	Total
Rio Novo	6	18	19	20	55
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanáiri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tovíoŋ*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tanéru*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirán*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

[P 92-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kemeti*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by pre-paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kemeti*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

●342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[535] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tultéi*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[623] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

80/ The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This